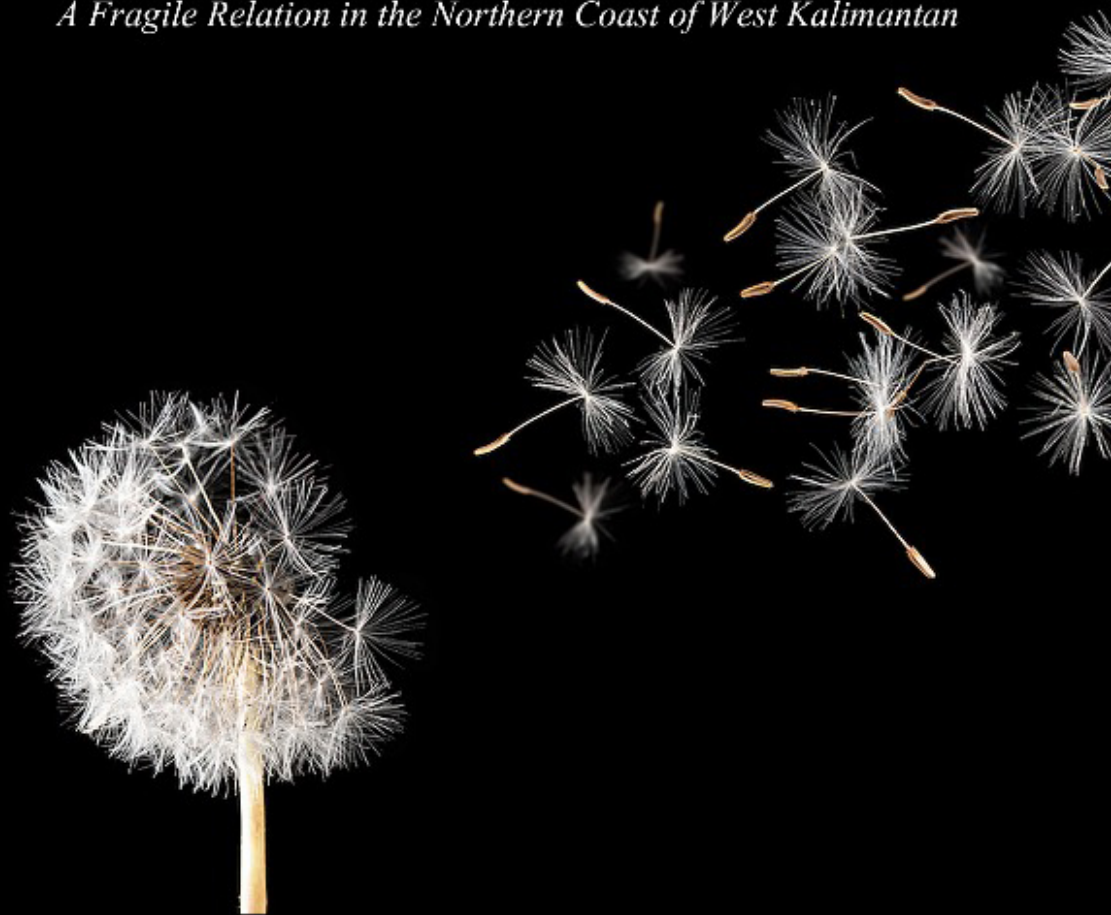


Malay and Chinese Indonesian

A Fragile Relation in the Northern Coast of West Kalimantan



DWI SURYA ATMAJA & FACHRURAZI

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FACHRURAZI

MALAY AND
CHINESE
INDONESIAN

*A Fragile Relation in Northern Coast
of West Kalimantan*

Editor: UDI JULIARTO



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Adit, Bintang, Eiby, and Chakra

Felita and Arouna

Preface

This work grew out of field research on Malay – Chinese Indonesian interaction along the Northern Coasts of West Kalimantan. The research proves that the interaction between the two entities in this area is not similar to the one we found in Teluk Pakedai, Kubu Raya Regency. In Teluk Pakedai, the harmonious interaction originated by a sort of “simplicity.” Paperless economic transaction between Malay and Chinese Indonesian traders is a living tradition. Neither receipt nor bill is needed, even in debt transactions. When questioned, what if another party forgets or dies? The answer was: “Nothing to worry about, it is Teluk Pakedai.” The similar simplicity is also found in conflict resolution, elites who first recognized the problem would come to the other group discussing the solution with no need to investigate “who commits the sin”. Furthermore, regarding the question of “Who are the earliest inhabitants of Teluk Pakedai, Malay-Bugis or Chinese?” many Malay-Bugis, in contrast to popular identification of Teluk Pakedai as Malay-Bugis settlement, provided an interesting answer: “...possibly Chinese as the name Teluk Pakedai refers to an old time Chinese Shop.

However, the interaction between Malay and Chinese Indonesian in Northern Coasts of West Kalimantan does not represent a similar phenomena. The utterance “Sekali Cine tetap Cine” is frequently uttered by our Malay informants. Meanwhile, socio-cultural Chinese diction *pan nyin*, meaning half human, addressed to the Malays, hopelessly revised as *fan nyin*, “immigrant, we too Chinese are *fan nyin*” sounds even more political. Last but not the least, Chinese Indonesian economic superiority and their steps on cultural and political existence in the area has switched on an alarm to the Malays of the Northern Coast. To conclude with, the interaction of these two entities should pay attention to the one in small area which is Teluk Pakedai, Kubu Raya Regency.

Fachrurazi and I are grateful to our key informants, Kazim of Bengkayang Regency; Bong Wei Khong, Idham Chalid, Bilal, Azhari

Saad and many others of Singkawang City; Kasyful Anwar, Ishadi, Adnan, Mujahidin, Munadi, Suryadi and many others including Wisnu and his colleagues of surveyors at Sambas Regency; Mulyadi and Setia Purwadi who at the final stage converted the manuscript to present book form. We too are indebted the most to our lovely wives, Intan and Ita, whose support was a real energizer for us throughout the work.

Finally, the contribution of Hijrah Haryono and Taqwa Aditya would have never been discarded. Without their help, a bunch of research data would merely stay as data. It should go without saying that we, Fachrurazi and I, are responsible to the book that follows.

Pontianak, Indonesia

December 12, 2018

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Research Background

The current Chinese – Malay interaction in Indonesia has come into a very fragile condition. This is mainly due to internal and external factors. Internally, Indonesian Chinese are subject to wealth-based discrimination¹ by Indonesian Malays. They basically ignored the existence of poor Indonesian Chinese, who presumably can not find an exit from their ancestors' type of professional jobs, mainly gold diggers and farmers.² What attracts the Malays' attention is the phenomena that Indonesian Chinese are very dominant economically. They are everywhere in the list of Indonesia's Richest People.³ This fact brings back to mind the Dutch colonial era, when the colonial authorities placed the Chinese above the Malays, economically and socially. This phenomenon was then exacerbated in Soeharto/New Order era, who practiced "trickle-down effect" in capturing economic growth and thus put Chinese traders and businessmen created by Dutch colonial scheme to play the role. This economic policy has often been blamed for creating injustice in Indonesia's economic distribution ever since.

¹<http://www.thejakartapost.com/youth/2016/08/30/why-its-important-to-talk-about-chinese-indonesians-or-chindos.html>

²Mary Sommers Heidhues, Gold-diggers, Farmers, and Traders in the "Chinese Districts" of West Kalimantan, Indonesia. South East Asia Program Publication (SEAP). New York: Ithaca, 2003.

³<https://www.forbes.com/indonesia-billionaires/list/>

Nowadays, in the so-called Reform era, some Chinese took the step to the political arena. This started to cause turbulence in the socio-political scene, particularly in the case of Ahok, the ex-governor of the capital city, Jakarta, whose very personal style of communication escalated the sociopolitical tension. Stereotypes and other ethnic prejudices surfaced. Chinese business managements who prefers to employ Chinese employees and discriminated against Malay employees, as characterized by M.D. La Ode,⁴ attracts the attention of a lot of people.

Unfortunately, when ethnic prejudice has emerged, external factors came in line. The Jakarta Bay Reclamation, for instance, is one of the many triggering factors for many controversies.⁵ This controversy is worsened when people find Youtube advertisement⁶ in Mandarin, prompting hypotheses stating that there is a linear and positive correlation between the Jakarta Bay Reclamation program and the rise of Great China Empire. All of this has made the situation even worse. Not only the Malay natives, but also the world in general is ambivalent, hesitating between standing for or against the rise of People's Republic of China. Both sides have valid arguments.⁷ China's growing military budget, China's habit to "play dirty" and China's dependencies are scary to the world. But, the world also notes that China needs stability and consequently avoids conflict.

However, we cannot count on people always acting rationally. We can never be sure whether Indonesian Malays or even Indonesian Chinese, would analyze the situation comprehensively. Jakarta Bay Reclamation, Meikarta property development, the capture of illegal

⁴M.D. La Ode, *Politik Tiga Wajah*. Jakarta: Pustaka Obor, 2013.

⁵<http://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/giant-reclamation-project-in-jakarta-hits-wall-of-resistance>

⁶Kontroversi Reklamasi dan Suguhan Iklan "Pluit City" yang Mengecoh. Tuesday, 5 April 2016. <http://property.kompas.com>

⁷<http://www.debatingeurope.eu/focus/infobox-arguments-for-and-against-fearing-the-rise-of-china/>. WewTzI RSzIU

workers of Chinese origins and many other issues has been heard and discussed all over the nation.

The province of West Kalimantan, or more precisely, the regency (region) of Sambas had a long history of Chinese-Malay interaction. Long before the division, Sambas, who claims to be Northern Coast regency, had even been named as *Cidayu* region. *Cidayu* is the acronym of *Cina-Dayak-Melayu* (Chinese, Dayak and Malay). The administrative proliferation divided the region into three: Singkawang, Bengkayang and Sambas. Although the three new regencies supposedly correspond to each of the 3 major populations (Singkawang-Chinese, Bengkayang-Dayak and Sambas-Malays), the division itself was not in support of social division. It was only for administrative and political reasons. Neither ethnic clash nor ethnic discrimination came along with. Therefore, the later development of Singkawang as the “City with a thousand pagoda” and the fact that a Chinese was elected as major of the city is no cause for concern. No ethnic issue came to the surface. Unlike the history of India-Pakistan or the expulsion of Rohingya from Myanmar, this territorial division was not followed by mass migration. The three different ethnic groups exist in all of the three divided regencies. These all underline that Chinese-Malay interaction in the region did not have a threatening problem.

However, Sambas was also known as a region with ethnic conflict. Many cannot forget how awfully bloody the tragedy was.⁸ Yes, it was a conflict based on the natives’ hatred of the Madurese, who migrated from another island. What about Sambas Malay’s treatment upon Chinese as they are similarly migrated to Sambas region. Chinese even migrated from other country which is far a way from Sambas. More over, Chinese have more differences than Madura.

⁸https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerusuhan_Sambas;
<https://infowagu.blogspot.co.id/2014/05/flash-back-tragedi-sambas-dan-sampit.html>

And yet, Chinese had enjoyed to certain extend a privilege in colonial era. Still, the 1970's tragedy of communist movement (Paraku) existed in mind. Last but could be the most critical obstacle of Chinese–Malay interaction of the Northern Coast of West Kalimantan is religion, as Sambas population are so proud of being the “terrace of Mecca”.

The existence of Indonesian Chinese in Indonesia is historical. First generation of Chinese immigrants were refugees who escaped from the torture of transitional ruling dynasties, some others were brought by British and Dutch Colonialist. They all fought to survive by means of working hard and being co-opted by local rulers. This only option left for them. They lack of leisure time to comprehend, to understand and to assimilate with local culture. Unfortunately, most of them were trapped in their own culture by their own community. Their exclusive special districts, such as China Towns found across many countries, can reduce the opportunity to create a firm exchange of words, behaviors and cultures. Some even maintain not only their culture but also their mother language. In the case of Pontianak Chinese, Medan Chinese and Babel Chinese, they mostly are bilingual but it would not be surprising if some are monolingual, Chinese language only. To certain extend, this phenomenon could be accepted but surely this is a major obstacle to build a communal togetherness.

Democracy is another term which examines level of acceptance towards the existence of Chinese. To the extend of Jakarta governor election, specifically of the second round on April 19, 2017 it can be seen as sociopolitical unreadiness of the majority to accept Chinese Governor.⁹

In addition to the above socioeconomic and political problems which are internal affairs, the issue of the rise of People's Republic of China cannot eagerly be dismissed. “Dragon Connection” is obviously

⁹Jakarta had ever had Chindos Governor in 1964-1965 but it was not through democratic election. Henk Ngantung was appointed by President Soekarno. https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henk_Ngantung

feared. That is why this research question is not only focused upon a dynamics of Chinese – Malay interaction but also trying to discover any influence of the Rise of China upon fears and hopes, arguments for and against the acceptance of ethnic pluralism.

B. Research Questions

The previous discussion creates a curiosity about the threats on Chinese – Malay interaction in Northern Coast of West Kalimantan. Therefore, to have a better insight, research question is focussed on “The Dynamics of Chinese-Malay Interaction along Northern Coast of West Kalimantan”.

C. Research Objectives

Based on research questions, this research would provide efforts to explore arguments, fears, hopes, habits, facts, and prejudices surrounding Chinese – Malay interaction along Northern Coast of West Kalimantan.

D. The Significance of Research

Research on Chinese – Malay interaction would be able to contribute:

1. A better understanding of how is the dynamics of threats attacking Chinese-Malay interaction in Northern Coast of West Kalimantan.
2. A confirmation of theories on influencing factors of sociocultural and political interaction.
3. An early detection of dominant factors influencing Chinese-Malay interaction in Northern Coast of West Kalimantan.

E. Research Method

The dynamics of social, political, cultural, religious and economic interaction between Chinese and Malay would be explored by mixed approach (primarily qualitative analysis and supported by quantitative analysis). Research data of the two entities would be collected mainly in the area where Chinese are concentrated (epicenter) to be compared and cross-checked by the data collected from the peripheral where Chinese are minority. People of the two entities would be interviewed respectively by the two approaches (in-depth interview with regard to purposive sampling and in accordance of questionnaire by means of proportional random sampling). Lay people and elites, literates and illiterates, all together would become data resources. The possibly contrasting data would be analyzed and respectively considered. SPSS would be employed to analyze quantitative data.

Regarding qualitative analysis, researchers would consider either one or a combination of models offered by Miles and Huberman (*data reduction, data display, and verification*), or Spradley (*domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, componential analysis, and discovering cultural theme*). A part from these two, models offered by Geertz (thick description) or Strauss and Corbin would be in consideration. And FGD (*Focused Group Discussion*) is expectedly functional to sharpen and to enrich qualitative data analysis.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF SAMBAS REGENCY AND CHINESE PEOPLE OF THE NORTHERN COAST

A. History and Condition of the Region

Since 15 July 1999, Sambas has been revived as the new capital of Sambas Regency. Before, Sambas was merely a small sub-district capital of the Sambas Sub-district, while the Sambas Regency had its capital in Singkawang (1957 – 1999). Historically, Sambas was the center of Sambas Sultanate, supposedly one of the more influential kingdoms in Kalimantan particularly and Nusantara in general. Sambas Sultanate had risen to prominence ever since the reign of its first Sultan, Muhammad Syafiuddin I (1631-1668). This glory lasted until the reign of the 15th Sultan, Muhammad Mulia Ibrahim Syafiuddin (1931-1943). After his death by the hands of the Japanese occupation forces, the fortunes of Sambas Sultanate declined.

Actually, Sambas' prominence had started even before the reign of the first Sultan, Muhammad Syafiuddin I (1631-1668), also known as Raden Sulaiman. Since the 13th century CE, there were already kings in Sambas. It all started with the arrival of Majapahit troops in Paloh. It

would later move to Kota Lama in Teluk Keramat. Later on, after several political intrigues forced him to leave Kota Lama, Raden Sulaiman and his followers moved to Kota Bangun in Sambas Besar River. They would later moved to Kota Bandir, and then to Lubuk Madung. Supposedly, Raden Sulaiman and his people stopped for a while in Tebas, clearing up the area before leaving. Thus, the area gained its name (“Tebas” means cutting down/clearing grass from the land).

It was only during the reign of the second Sultan, Raden Bima or Sultan Muhammad Tajuddin (1668-1708), that the capital of Sambas Sultanate was build in Muara Ulakan, the confluence of 3 rivers: Sambas Kecil River, Subah River and Tebarau River. Since 1668, its territories encompassed Pemangkat, Singkawang, and Sambas itself, which is rich in gold.

Since the Japanese and then NICA occupations, the Sultanate has fallen, due to the troubles of World War II. In 1950, when Sambas and West Kalimantan in general returned under the rule of Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI), and Sambas Regency was created, the people of Sambas demanded that Sambas remained as the capital of the new regency, as remembrance and continuation of the sultanate's glory. However, their wish would only be fulfilled in 1999, after around 50 years.

The historical written and archaeological record of the sultanate and its rulers can be traced clearly since the founding of Sambas Sultanate, at the start of 17th century. The main written source on

Sambas Sultanate is a document written by its 13th Sultan, Muhammad Syafiuddin II, titled “Silsilah Raja-raja Sambas”, written on December 1903. Meanwhile, the main written historical source for the related Brunei Darussalam is the document “Silsilah Raja-Raja Brunei.” The historical sources concerning the relation between the 2 kingdoms has been published in 3 books by Bruneian Historical Center. Those 3 books are: (1) “Tarsilah Brunai, Sejarah Awal dan Perkembangan Islam” published in 1990; (2) “Raja Tengah, Sultan Serawak Pertama dan Terakhir” published in 1995; and (3) “Tarsilah Brunai, Zaman Kegemilangan dan Kemashuran” published in 1997.

In both the chronicles of Brunei's kings and Sambas' kings, the history of Sambas Sultanate was told from the time of Raja Tengah, the King of Sarawak who stayed in Sukadana and Sambas for around 40 years (1600-1641). Raden Sulaiman was son of Raja Tengah from his marriage with Puteri Surya Kusuma, daughter of the Sultan of Matan/Sukadana, Sultan Muhammad Syafiuddin. He would later become the first Sultan of Sambas (1631-1668 CE).

Thus, the history of Sambas had started long before the reign of Raden Sulaiman. Although there were no written records about Sambas' ancient history, from the records of Majapahit Kingdom and chronicles of the Chinese Emperors, Sambas was stated to be equal with other kingdoms in Kalimantan, Java, Sumatra, Malacca and Brunei, and also the Chinese Empire in the 13th and 14th centuries. Due to the lack of data, the early history of Sambas and Kalimantan is still filled with uncertainty. However, it is known that at least from the 10th century,

Western Kalimantan was well known by foreign travelers and merchants from China, India, and Arabia.

The transfer of Sambas Regency's capital from Singkawang to Sambas was the most monumental part of the entire restructuring process of Sambas Regency, officially suggested to the central government in 1997. This effort to transfer the capital had undergone a long and arduous process, starting from public demands who wanted Sambas to become the capital of Sambas Regency again, after it was transferred to Singkawang by Surat Menteri Pemerintahan Umum dan Otonomi Daerah Nomor Dbs.52/2/36-33, dated 1 April 1963.

This public demand was based on the appointment of Sambas as capital of Sambas Regency, according to Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 27 Tahun 1956, about Penetapan Undang-undang Darurat Nomor 3 Tahun 1953 about the creation of second-level administrative divisions in Kalimantan. The Governor of West Kalimantan at that time, J. C. Oevang Oeray, responded to this public demand by starting to build offices and houses in the Desa Dalam Kaum housing complex, as the first step in preparation of the transfer of capital back to Sambas.

Also concerning this matter, and according to TAP MPR Nomor II/MPR/1998 about GBHN, the Sambas Regency Regional Government, supported by West Kalimantan Provincial Government and all supporting communities, took initiative and strived to split Sambas Regency into 3 new second-level administrative divisions through the established procedure and mechanism. The 3 planned

divisions are: (1) Sambas Regency, with Sambas as capital; (2) Bengkayang Regency, with Bengkayang as capital; and (3) Singkawang City, with Singkawang as capital.

This plan was suggested to the central government in 1997, based on the agreement of the people of Sambas Regency, as stated in Keputusan DPRD Kabupaten Sambas Nomor 12 Tahun 1997, dated 29 March 1997 about Approval of the Suggested Plan of Second-Level Administrative Division Creation for Development of the Second-Level Administrative Division Sambas. Then, with Surat Nomor 135/460/Tapem, dated 31 May 1997, the Regent of Sambas relayed this suggestion to the Governor of West Kalimantan, to be passed on to the central government. Later, the Governor of West Kalimantan, with Surat Nomor 118/2113/Pem-C, dated 5 June 1997, delivered this suggestion to the central government, through the Internal Affairs Minister.

After a long discussion with both Second Commission of DPR-RI and the Department of Internal Affairs, it was finally decided with Undang-undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 10 Tahun 1999 about Creation of Second-Level Administrative Division Bengkayang, legalized on 20 April 1999. In this law, specifically Pasal 4 ayat (2), it is mentioned that with the creation of Bengkayang Regency, the capital of Sambas Regency was transferred from Singkawang to Sambas.

Through various considerations and based on public demands in response to the new law, 15 July 1999 was set as the suitable date for the formal transfer of capital from Singkawang to Sambas. With

Keputusan Bupati Kepala Daerah Tingkat II Sambas Nomor 320. A Tahun 1999 and the preparations involving the people, the capital of Sambas Regency was formally transferred on 15 July 1999 in an elaborate procession.

Geographically, Sambas Regency is the northernmost part of West Kalimantan Province, spanning from 2°08' to 0°33' N, and 108°39' to 110°04' E, bordered by: (1) Natuna Sea and Sarawak (East Malaysia) in the north; (2) Singkawang City and Bengkayang Regency in the south; (3) Natuna Sea in the west; dan (4) Sarawak (East Malaysia) and Bengkayang Regency in the east. Sambas Regency consists of 19 sub-districts, 193 villages, 594 dusun, 1.147 Rukun Warga (RW) and 2.929 Rukun Tetangga (RT). Its total area is 6.395,70 Km², or around 4,36% of West Kalimantan's total area; its coasts are ±198,76 km long; its national borders ± 97 km long; and its bodies of water has total area of 1.467,84 Km². The largest subdivision in this regency is Sajingan Besar Sub-district, with total area of 1.391,20 Km² or 21,75%, while the smallest is Salatiga Sub-district, with total area of 82,75 Km² or 1,29% of Sambas Regency's total area.

Most of Sambas Regency's area are relatively flat (0 % - 15 % rise to run) with area of 468.196 hectares or 67,59%, and the area of the regions with 15 % - 40 % rise to run slope is 160.396 hectare or 25,08%, while the > 40% rise to run grade has area of 46.832 hectare or 7,3%. The height of each sub-districts in the regency are: 1. 0 – 7 m above sea level areas are present in: Sejangkung, Sambas, Tebas, Selakau, Jawai, Paloh and Teluk Keramat Regencies. 2. 8-25 m above sea level areas

are present in: Sejangkung, Sambas, Tebas, Selakau, Pemangkat and Teluk Keramat Regencies. 3. 26-100 m above sea level are present in: Sejangkung, Sambas, Tebas, Selakau, Pemangkat, Teluk Keramat and Paloh Sub-districts

The land usage pattern in Sambas Regency is mostly for agriculture, which consists of paddy field agricultural lands and non-paddy field agricultural lands. Until 2014, there are 564.998 hectares of agricultural lands, consisting of 68.644 hectares of paddy fields and 496.354 hectares of non-paddy field agricultural lands, with 74.572 hectares of non-agricultural lands. The largest paddy fields is in Teluk Keramat Sub-district, as large as 6.911 hectares, followed by Tebas Sub-district with 6.110 hectares, Jawai Sub-district with 5.524 hectares, Selakau Sub-district with 4.643 hectares, and the smallest is in Sajad Sub-district with 1.454 hectares. The largest non-agricultural land is in Sajingan Besar Sub-district, with 135.899 hectares, followed by Paloh Sub-district with 107.802 hectares, Subah Sub-district with 47.506 hectares, Teluk Keramat Sub-districts with 38.802 hectares, and the smallest is Semparuk Sub-district with 2.051 hectares.

According to the results of Interim Population Projection of West Kalimantan Province, in 2015 the population of Sambas Regency is 523.115 people, with population density around 82 people/km², or 2.710 people per villages. The population of Sambas Regency was not spread evenly among its sub-districts, with Pemangkat Sub-district being the densest with 417 people per km², while Sajingan Besar Sub-district was the sparsest with only 8 people per km². It's male

population was estimated to be around 258.475 people, while the female population was around 264.640 people.

Divided by age groups, the 0 – 4 year group was the most numerous with 60.326 people, followed by the 5 – 9 year group with 53.387 people, and then the 10-14 year group with 49.296 people. The population growth rate of Sambas Regency in 2015 was 1,05%, with Sajingan Besar Sub-district having the fastest growth rate compared to the other sub-districts, 2,41% growth rate. Meanwhile, Jawai Selatan Sub-district had the slowest growth rate in Sambas regency, only 0,28%.

According to data from the Office of Demographics and Civil Registration of Sambas Regency (from the Ministry of Internal Affairs), in 2015 there were 627.837 people in Sambas Regency, and according to data from Sambas Regency Central Bureau of Statistics, the workforce population aged 15 and above was 265.304 people, with 252.439 people working and 12.865 people in open unemployment, while the non-workforce population aged 15 and above was 95.440 people.

The majority of Sambas Regency's population are Islam adherents. In 2015, there were 549.100 Muslims (87,46%), 11.284 Protestants (1,80%), 17.429 Catholics (2,78%), 272 Hindus (0,04%), 46.928 Buddhists (7,47%) and the remaining 2.824 (0,45%) adhered to other beliefs.

The economic structure of Sambas is still dominated by agriculture, fishery, and forestry, with 34,21%. However, their

contribution to Sambas' economy had decreased continuously from 2011 to 2015. Besides agriculture, forestry, and fishery, the biggest contributor to the Regional Gross Domestic Product based on constant prices in 2015 was retail and bulk trades at 32,94%, followed by motorcycle and car reparation at 17,94%, and then processing industry at 12,74%. Meanwhile, the other work fields only contribute less than 10% of the Regional Gross Domestic Product.

Human development placed humans as the end goal of economic development, rather than a mere tool of the development. Human development is defined as a process of expanding the life choices available to the populace. The main objective of the development is to create an environment that enables people to live long, healthy, and productive (United Nation Development Programme – UNDP). The Human Development Index (HDI) explains how the people can make use of the fruits of development for work, health, education, etc. HDI was introduced by UNDP in 1990 and periodically published in the yearly Human Development Report (HDR).

HDI is formed by 3 (three) basic dimensions: (1) Long and healthy life; (2) Knowledge; and (3) Decent standard of living. HDI is an important indicator to measure the success of improving the life quality of the citizens, and it can decide the development rank of a region or country. For Indonesia, HDI is a strategic data as both a measure of government performance and to determine allocation of the Public Allocated Funds (DAU).

Based on HDI calculation in 2015, Jakarta Special Capital Territory Province had the highest HDI at 78,99, followed by Yogyakarta Special Region Province in second place at 77,59, and then East Kalimantan at 74,17 in third place. Meanwhile, West Kalimantan Province had HDI of 65,59, or the 29th from 34 provinces in Indonesia. In general, the HDI of Sambas Regency constantly improves, although when compared with other regencies and cities in West Kalimantan, its rank hasn't change, still the 6th from 14 regencies and cities in West Kalimantan. For context, the highest HDI in West Kalimantan Province is in Pontianak City at 77,52, followed by Singkawang City at 70,03 and Kubu Raya Regency at 65,02.

B. Typology of the Locals

The Malay ethnicity is the native ethnicity in Sambas Regency. The emergence of various ethnic issues in Sambas Regency is marked by the amount of violence involving Sambas Malays, including with immigrant groups such as Chinese and Madurese. However, along the way, even the ethnic Chinese has been considered as also part of the local population. This condition strengthens the assumption that conflicts can serve as a trigger for the creation of social balance.

Conflict is a normal part of social dynamics that can happen in every social interaction in the daily life. Effendi stated that social conflict would only become abnormal and triggered tragedies and

national collapse when accompanied by violence and brutality.¹⁰ The social conflicts in Sambas Regency cannot be separated from the presence of social prejudice between each ethnic groups, whether between Malays and Chinese, or Malays and Madurese.

These social prejudices, especially towards the Chinese (for example the prejudice that Chinese people were part of the anti-NKRI Pasukan Rakyat Kalimantan Utara (Paraku) and/or Pasukan Gerilya Rakyat Sarawak (PGRS)), ultimately developed into wariness of interaction with them. This wariness became a norm, and this norm is then used as a basis for actions towards the prejudiced group. When these norms are forced, social conflict would then become inevitable. One of the examples of social conflict between Sambas Malays and Chinese are the presence of areas in Sambas that rejects the presence of Chinese people in them. These social conflicts between Sambas Malays and Chinese started with negative social prejudices of Sambas Malays towards Sambas Chinese, as they rejected Chinese characteristics, behavior, culture, and customs.

In all of their interactions, Sambas Malays are very influenced by their Islamic beliefs. The Islamic concept of *ummah* (Harmonious people) as understood by them had been the basis of Sambas Malays' social behavior, to the extent that Sambas Malays and Islam are difficult

¹⁰Surata A dan Adrianto, T. T. 2001. *Atasi Konflik Etnis*. Yogyakarta: Global Pustaka Utama.

to separate. Islam spread to Sambas Regency around 1620 CE¹¹, carried by Raden Sulaiman (Sultan Muhammad Syafiudin I, son of Prince Raja Tengah, the son of Sultan Muhammad Hasan who ruled Brunei Darussalam during 1582-1598 CE (Fahmi, 2002).

The Islamic concept of *ummah*, which stressed the importance of honesty, politeness, compassion, cleanliness, and law-abiding, has a big impact on forming the personality of Sambas Malays. According to the concept, a Muslim's personality has no room for aggressiveness and conquest of either nature or other people, but it is based on harmony and balance, as prescribed by the Sharia, which has set the basic principles of a harmonious and balanced community. Duarte Barbosa said that Sambas people welcomed everyone who visited with open arms,¹² as reflected by one of their proverbs; “*kecil telapak tangan, nyiru kami tadahkan*” which means showing a very sincere behavior.

The Sambas people are very well known by their crafts, and among the local crafts that is still widely known is kain songket or *kain lunggi*. The kain songket craft is the signature craft of Sambas Malays, as can be seen in Semberang Village, for example. There are several possible types and motifs of kain songket, such as; padang tebakar, padang tebakar daging, pucuk rebung, berkala, pelangi and cual.

¹¹Bakar, Abu, A. L. 2001. *Adat Melayu Serumpun*. Kuala Lumpur: Universiti Malaya.

¹²Saad, M. M. 2003. *Sejarah Konflik Antar Suku di Kabupaten Sambas*. Pontianak: Kalimantan Persada Press.

There are also traditional dances of Sambas Malays, such as; jepin raddat, tandak sambas and allo' galling, many of which are often performed in celebrations of harvests, weddings, or royal ceremonies, or even in the Sambas Malays' daily lives. This condition shows that there are many traditions or customs that enriches their life cycles, like wedding customs for example.

The wedding customs are, for example; *cikram*, a sign of engagement between 2 people and *Antar pinang*. *Antar pinang* is one of the wedding customs that must be performed. After the time and date has been decided, the bridegroom's family has to present the bride's family with things such as *sirih* container and *mahar* (dower) (in form of money, jewelry, bedroom supplies, clothes, cosmetics, etc.). They also have to explain their visit with pantuns and sajak.

A few days before the wedding ceremony, families living far away would have arrived. They, along with the neighbors, would help to create the “tarub”, the place where the wedding ceremony will be held, and “emper-emper”, the place for the food. The food are presented in “saprah-saprah” (One saprah containing the portions for 5 – 6 people). The wedding ceremony is split into 3 days: “numbu” or spices preparation day, “motong”, and “pokok.” “Motong” and “pokok” days are usually enlivened by tanjidor music. In “pokok” day, the bridegroom and his family are paraded to the bride's home.

“Pulang memulangkan” or “saling menyerahkan” is a statement by the bridegroom's parents to leave their son to the parents and families of the bride, to be accepted and guided rightly in his life, and vice versa.

After that, “mandi berulus” is done to pray to God for easing the way of the bride and groom in their new life. Alongside that, there is also a procession called “balik tikar”, that is cleaning the newlywed's beds, stripping the netting of its decorations, and flipping over the carpets and mattresses.¹³

In Sambas Regency, there is a palace of the Sambas Sultanate, named *Alwatzikhubillah*, which means believing solidly in Allah. The Sambas Sultanate's symbol is the sea eagle, indicating that their main power is naval power. Inside the palace, there are several historical artifacts, like 2 ancient jars from China's Ming Dynasty of 17th century, the Sultan's royal robes, swords, 7 small cannons, gongs, etc. These historical artifacts are still considered as sacred artifacts by most of Sambas people. The names of each cannons are: Raden Mas, Raden Samber, Ratu Kilat, Ratu Pajajaran, Ratu Putri, Raden Pajang, and Panglima Guntur. Most of the other artifacts had been seized by Japanese occupiers and their whereabouts are unknown.¹⁴

A community of people cannot be separated from its typology. Based on its typology, Sambas Malays are not free from various defects, both in character or behavior. Generally, Sambas Malays are are closed off – not liking/willing/used to being open to others, often staying silent even when they disagree with others opinion or currently having

¹³*Selayang Pandang Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Sambas*. 2002. Sambas: Mata Angin Production in cooperation with Pemda Kabupaten Sambas.

¹⁴Rahman, A, dkk. 2001. *Sejarah Kesultanan dan Pemerintahan Daerah Sambas*. Sambas: Dinas Pariwisata Pemda Kabupaten Sambas.

troubles. This is due to their desire to be viewed as wealthy in material wealth and prominent in social status. This desire is reflected in their characteristically festive wedding, *khitan*, and *aqiqah* celebrations. It is also reflected by their preference for seemingly more formal work in government offices or private companies as opposed to starting their own independent business.¹⁵

C. Chinese in the Northern Coast

The history of Chinese settlements in West Kalimantan's northern coast began with the kongsi activities in gold mining, trading, and farming. During the kongsi era, settlements containing houses for both the kongsi miners and traders were built, along with the accompanying religious shrine (*thai pak kung*). These settlements were followed with newer settlements which also contain grocery stores, blacksmiths doubling as pawnbrokers, traditional healers, goldsmiths, gambling houses, opium dens, etc.

At first, not all Chinese in the north coast of West Kalimantan were part of the middle class. As the Chinese migrated to Indonesia as groups, it is not surprising that some of them were merely farmers and small traders, thus part of the lower class. Compared to Java and Sumatra, where the majority of Chinese are part of the Cantonese and Hokkien language groups, in West Kalimantan these 2 groups only

¹⁵Bakar. 2001. *Op Cit.*

form a small minority of West Kalimantan's Chinese, with the majority of West Kalimantan's Chinese being part of the Hakka language group, followed by Teochew group.¹⁶

Most of the migrating Hakka people came from the hilly Guangdong interior, particularly the Kai Ying (Meizhou) region. Some of the Hakka also came from northern Ting Chou (Tingzhou) and Loeng Yen (Longyan) in southwestern Fukkien (Fujian). Hakka people spoke the Hakka/Khek language, part of the Sino-Tibetan family.¹⁷ Meanwhile, the Teochew came from the northeastern coast of Guangdong—Hai Fung (Haifeng) and Luh Fung (Lufeng). As these areas are close to the port of Shantou, Teochew people are also known as Shantou Chinese.¹⁸

Hakka Chinese gained their name due to their habit of practicing shifting mining and farming, known as “*keja/hakka*” or “guest” in Mandarin. These Hakkas mostly lived in the northern West Kalimantan, while Teochews mostly lived in the southern West Kalimantan, such as

¹⁶Almost all of these migrating Chinese groups came from southern China, but they couldn't communicate easily with each other due to their wildly differing languages. The Netherlands Indies colonial government referred to Hakkas as “Kheks” and Teochews as “Hok-Los.” The Hague: M. Nijhoff. *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch*. 1927. Leiden: Brill. Groenevelt.

¹⁷These languages include languages mostly used in the Himalayas, Indochina Peninsula, and China proper. Taniputera. Ivan. 2007. *History of Cina*. Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media. Page 23.

¹⁸Heidhues, Mary Somers. 2008. *Penambang Emas, Petani dan Pedagang di “Distrik Tionghoa” Kalimantan Barat*. Jakarta: Yayasan Nabil. Page 17.

Pontianak and its surroundings.¹⁹ Thus, several records²⁰ used the term *pansanhok*—half – mountain—to refer to this group.

The Chinese arrived at West Kalimantan's northern coast by a boat fleet.²¹ Various discoveries, such as a Han Dynasty era green-glazed ceramic spoon with a dragon image strengthens the assumption that there was a strong link between Kalimantan's coastal kingdoms with the Chinese Empire, particularly during the Song and Ming dynasties. The Chinese might have visited Kalimantan as early as the 4th century CE, but didn't make a permanent settlement right away; and by the 16th century, there were already Chinese settlements in the western and northern coasts of Kalimantan—including Brunei—mainly settled by Chinese farmers and traders.²² Their presence in Kalimantan can be seen clearly after the Malay rulers in Sambas and Mempawah invited Chinese people to come there from China. These Chinese came

¹⁹Heidhues, *Ibid*. It has a slightly different explanation, asserting that the interaction between Hakkas and Teochews—especially in Singkawang and its surroundings—created a new group that is half – Teochew and half – Hakka.

²⁰Van Meeteren Brouwer, P.M. 1926. *De Geschiedenis der Chineesche Districten der Wester-Afdeeling van Borneo van 1740-1926*. De Indische Gids, Tijdschrift van Nederlandsch Indie. Page 481.

²¹*Jung* or *Wangkang Cun*—a type of boat—that can only carry around 20 people, one *taopekong* (village totem), also known as *Pak Kung* by Singkawang Chinese, and a cannon. *Pak Kung* is believed to bestow spiritual power to the Chinese travelers, while the lit cannon was believed to be able to destroy the demons obstructing their voyage. Liem, Thian Joe. 2004. *Riwayat Semarang*. Second Edition. Jakarta: Hasta Wahana. Page 4.

²²Van Sandick, J.C.F and Lt. Kolonel V. J. van Marle. 1919. *Economische Geographie Van Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling*. Tijdschrift Economische Geographie. Batavia: Albercht & Co. Page 50.

and followed the course of the small rivers from the coast to the mining areas inland.

The Chinese settlements in West Kalimantan began from Singkawang, whose name supposedly was given by Chinese sailors and immigrants. Supposedly, the name was given due to Singkawang's position on a river mouth and between 2 mountains—*San Kew Jong*, or a mountain in the river mouth. Compared to other areas in West Kalimantan, the western coast areas are viewed as the most fertile and beautiful areas.²³

Earl, in his travel notes,²⁴ mentioned that in 1834, Singkawang was settled by Chinese—referred to as “Tionghoa” in his book, ed—15 miles along the coast from “*Songry Ryah*” or Raya River, and it can be entered through the river mouth. When entering the Singkawang River, there was a gosong (Sand deposits in the river mouth or sea side) around 10 – 12 feet long, preventing ships from entering during high tide. The coast of Singkawang experiences the western winds from January to March, while the following months are dominated by the southern winds all day. This strengthens Veth's previous explanation that Chinese miners typically arrived around January and February.

²³The “west coast” refers to an area spanning from north to south: Sebangkau River, Selaku River, Singkawang River, Pajintan River, and Sedau River—all north of Batu Belat Peninsula, now known as Gundul Peninsula, Raya River to Duri River. Veth, P. J. 1854. *Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling: Geographisch, Statistisch, Historisch*. Eerste. Deel. Het Platen: Zaltbommel.

²⁴As told by Rahmayani, Any. 2014. *Pemukiman Tionghoa di Singkawang. Dari Masa Kongsu Hingga Masa Kolonial*. Yogyakarta: Ombak Publisher. Pages 22-25.

The agricultural harvest of this region is dominated by rice. The men typically worked the paddy fields during the day, while their wives and daughters managed their stores. In those days, Singkawang was an entrepôt for Monterado great kongsi's trades. This commercial development was supported by the emergence of trading bodies in the Singkawang river mouth.²⁵ Fish were also caught en masse there. Like other western coast areas, Singkawang was a combined settlement of farmers, traders, and fishers. While the Chinese were responsible for most of the northern coast West Kalimantan's development, Singkawang and its surroundings were also settled by Dayaks living alongside the Chinese. Singkawang's importance as a port increased after Selaku—to the north of Singkawang—was destroyed by pirates at the start of 19th century.²⁶ Seeing Singkawang's strategic position—located midway between Pontianak and Sambas, and well-situated to keep watch on the Chinese kongsi's activities—prompted the Dutch to build a base in Singkawang. Meanwhile, after the destruction of the kongsis, the colonial government's governing district was moved from Monterado to Singkawang, where the customs office and barracks had been constructed previously.

²⁵Like what also happened in Raya and Duri rivers—Veth., *loc cit.* 1854. Page 101.

²⁶The arrival of George Wisdor from Singapore to trade with the Chinese from Monterado—after given permission by the colonial government in Sambas—seemed to be the start of Singkawang's development as a port. During that time, the colonial government had also placed an office for controlling trade in Kalimantan's west coast there. Rahmayani, Any. 2014. *Op Cit.*

1. Chinese Northern Coast Communities

The earliest date of the establishment of Chinese communities in West Kalimantan's coasts is around the 18th century, as estimated by Earl, who stated that the Chinese arrived through Singapore.²⁷ Singkawang was an important settlement area as an entryway to the mines around Monterado. Chinese farmers increased in West Kalimantan's northern coast during the 19th century, after conflicts between kongsis and Dutch military actions—where the colonial government did a massive purge of the Chinese kongsis.

At the beginning of the Chinese kongsis, most of the miners were still unmarried, except their leaders, who brought their families along. Since there were very few Chinese women, and the very high dowers needed to marry them, most of the Chinese miners ended up

²⁷Every year, it is estimated that around 5000-8000 people came from China to Singapore. Meanwhile, the rest continued their journey to the tin mines in Bangka, pepper plantations in Bintan, and the gold mines in Malacca, Pahang, and Borneo's west coast. Bastin, John. 2011. *Singapura Tempo Doeloe 1819-1942*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu. Heidhues, Marry Somers. 2008 in a book titled: *Penambang Emas, Petani dan Pedagang di "Distrik Tionghoa" Kalimantan Barat*. Jakarta: Yayasan Nabil., divide the Chinese communities into 3 (three) groups, based on their residence and occupation: *First*, the miners living in gold mining areas. *Second*, those living around the mining areas to support the kongsi – managed mining activities, as farmers and small traders. *Third*, traders, artisans, and laborers in the cities. This third group is the group that would end up settling in West Kalimantan's northern coast—particularly Singkawang.

marrying Dayak women. They also chose to marry Dayak women due to similarities in habits and debt payments.²⁸

This proved that assimilation happened between Chinese and Dayaks. Thus, Chinese communities in West Kalimantan's west coast have different traits compared to Chinese in other regions—especially those in Java. Their kinship system, religion, and residences are still very close to the homeland prototype, but some aspects have acculturated with local culture.²⁹

Observing their interactions with other ethnic groups living in West Kalimantan, it can be seen that the Chinese has closer relations with Dayaks and acculturate themselves with Dayak culture in particular, such as replacing several Hakka-style farming tools, such as plows and sickles with mixed tools such as Dayak digging stick.

In those days, the northern coast West Kalimantan area that focused on agriculture was Pemangkat. Some were already farming before the creation of gold mining kongsis. There were 2 (two) large

²⁸Heidhues., *Loc Cit.* The government actually intervened by forbidding Chinese men from marrying Dayak women as debt payments. Van Basel, W. H. Seen. 1874. *Een Chineseche Nederzetting op Borneo's Westkust*. Tijdschrift van Nederland Indie. Page 30, stated that Chinese men would marry Dayak women because there were very few Chinese women or they could not pay the dowry, but this is viewed as less prestigious. The gold mining kongsi's territories were originally traditional lands owned by Dayak tribes. Many Dayak women married Chinese men. Their children were referred to as *pan thong pan*, and the male ones were usually recruited as soldiers to defend the kongsi.

²⁹Tan, Mely G. *ed.* 1979. *Golongan Etnis Tionghoa di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Gramedia Publisher.

farmer's association already existing around the 1770s³⁰: (a) Thien-thi-Foi³¹, led by Lioe Sam Pak, which had authority in Rantau, Pakoetjing, Wong-littoeng and Kulor; and (b) Lan-fong-Foei, led by Lo Thai Pak, founded in 1772 or 1774 and based in Thai Sjoe Hill.

In the middle of 19th century, the amount of areas pursuing agriculture increased. People pursued agriculture in most hill foots and river sides, such as: Kulor, Patengahan, Pak Mion Theo, Sibebe, Sirukem and Betung River and Selakau River. Rice cultivation became the main solution for their daily needs. Sinam and Lakum River people, who lived south and southwest of Mount Pemangkat, turned the mountain into a protector of their rice fields from the northern and northwestern winds. Although rice was the main crop, there were also quite a lot vegetables and fruits planted.

The conflicts that afflicted the kongsis, both between the kongsis themselves and against other factions—Malay rulers and colonial government—brought a pretty large change to the farmers, shifting their agricultural efforts from horticulture to coconut and other industrial plants plantations, such as: rubber, pepper, sago, gambir, and areca. These commodities became important trade commodities for the Chinese. The Chinese controlled most of the trade, whether large or small in scale, or exports and imports, with the remainder controlled by

³⁰ *Singawang Agrarische Zaken in Binnenlandsch Bestur. No. 2569* as cited by Rahmayani, Any. 2014. *Op Cit.* Pages 43-44.

³¹ *Foci* means agreement or following.

European commercial ventures. The presence of these companies, such as Borneo Sumatra Handel Maatschappij (since 1901) and Geo Wehry&Co (since 1925)³² ended up improving the trade situation in the north coast.

2. Typology of Chinese Settlements in the Northern Coast

The arrival of the Chinese in 1740, and the second wave in 1760, was the first step of the creation of Chinese settlements in West Kalimantan. In this context, there are 2 different settlement areas. *First*, the Seminis area, the first settlement founded by Chinese arriving from Brunei in 1760, later continued by settlements founded in gold-bearing Lurah and Monterado. The Chinese groups founded in 12 communities in Lurah and 24 communities in Monterado. Most of the members in these communities were generally referred to as *pan sak hok*.³³ *Second*, Chinese arriving straight from China who emigrated in search of better life. They entered following the river flow and settled along the river banks, such as along the banks of Duri River until Moei Tsak, along the banks of Raya River until Pangkalan Batu, along Sebangkau until Pangkalan

³²Vleming Jr. J. L. 1926. *Het Chineesche Zakenleven in Nederlandsch-Indie*. Door den Belasting-Accountantsdienst in Nederlandsch-Indie. Uitgave Volkslectuur.

³³*Pan sak hok* by Van Meeteren. 1926 in Rahmayani, Any. 2014. *Op Cit.* is generally translated as “people or citizens from the mountains.”

Kongsi, along the Buduk River tributary until Pangkalan Haji, along Selaku until Bakuwan and Pakuching and also along Singkawang River. The settlements also spread inland, such as: Ledo, Sibebe, Capkala and Sangking.

As invited laborers, initially the first wave of Chinese immigrants were given equipment and food supplies by the Sultan of Sambas. Then, they built settlements in the mining areas by also pursuing farming and husbandry to fulfill their daily needs. Jackson, as cited by Purwanto³⁴ stated that there were several types of Chinese settlements during the early periods of their arrival.

First, mining settlements where most of the people worked in the gold mining companies, and a minority of them pursued farming and husbandry for fulfilling local food demand. *Second*, mining areas surrounded by a small colony, which is further divided into 2 types, one is a colony with villages located along the way encircling the city, and the other is a city surrounded by gardens and ranches. The two types of settlements can be seen in *Fosjoen* kongsi's settlement in Monterado, which is a combination of the 2 types. Monterado City itself is classified as the first type, but there are Dayak

³⁴Poerwanto, Hari. 2005. *Orang Cina Khék dari Singkawang*. Depok: Komunitas Bambu. Page 124.

colonies around the city whose citizens worked and supplied food for them.

As seen in Singkawang, the traditional trait of Chinese settlements is the presence of a fort, although the fort does not dominate its structure. During the 1832 Kongsu War, the Chinese built some kind of fortifications encircling their settlement in Singkawang and blocked Singkawang's rivers with ironwood stakes planted on the riverbed, although they ended up fleeing once the situation became too disadvantageous.³⁵ In the Chinese settlement's traditional structure design, fortifications are typically built from wood, soil, and rocks, in order to protect their political, military, and economic interests.³⁶

The Chinese settlement traits can be seen from an image found in a market in Pemangkat. The market was built by Chinese who also founded an agricultural kongsu around 1770s—part of the Samtiaokiu Kongsu. The settlement was located separate from Malay and Bugis fishing villages, as well as royal officer's residences around Pemangkat River and Mount Pemangkat. It can be seen that Chinese settlements include markets and religious shrines (*thai pak kung*). This Chinese

³⁵Heindhues, Mary Somers. 2008. *Penambang Emas, Petani dan Pedagang di "Distrik Tionghoa" Kalimantan Barat*. Jakarta: Nabil Foundation.

³⁶Heddy Srihi Ahimsa Putra: Arsitektur Permukiman Tradisional Cina di Kawasan Pecinan Semarang. <http://planologiku.wordpress.com>.

settlement in Pemangkat is located on a land irrigated by a tributary of Sambas River. This market was burned down in 1871, but it was rebuilt on the eastern base of Mount Pemangkat.

The market was filled with merchants selling groceries, such as spices, sugar, *belacan*—shrimp paste—along with fruits and vegetables. Silk and cotton merchants can be found next to the spices merchants, and not far from the place, fish and pork market can be found.³⁷ This market was located on one side of the main road, while the gambling house, a “mandatory” part of every market, was on the other side. In those days, gambling houses were always filled to the brim with visitors. Blacksmiths and medicine men were also present, as always in markets. Besides selling medicines, the medicine men also served as seers. The main road itself led to the settlement in Mount Pemangkat. In its slopes, the Chinese planted vegetables, while the base was used for rice planting.

3. Philosophy of Klenteng and its Interpretations

The religious shrine of Chinese people, as adherents of the traditional Chinese beliefs—Confucianism and Taoism is

³⁷Pork is only traded in certain times, because Chinese people only eats pork during important days and commemorations. Otherwise, they would choose fish if it is abundant.

klenteng. The Confucian teachings focused on the good in humans. The worship can be done either at home or in a special shrine, called *li thang*³⁸ by Confucians. This name called back to the function of *Thang* in kongsi's center which served not only as center of economics, but also had a religious function.

The newly appointed members of kongsi were sworn in *thang*, which is viewed by Confucians as having dual function, related with both worldly and heavenly matters. *Li thang* is typically part of a klenteng, which also has both social and religious functions. Klenteng can also be shared with Taoists and Mahayana Buddhists.

Klenteng/*thang* was the center of kongsi settlements. Thus, quite a lot klenteng were founded as protector of a kongsi. Beside that, one type of klenteng is a klenteng built by professional guilds, such as a medicine men's klenteng or a blacksmith's klenteng. As klenteng served as both a social and religious facility in Chinese life, every Chinese settlement has their own klenteng.

Almost every Chinese settlement has their own *thai pak kung*. As seen in Monterado City's structure, Heidhues³⁹ explained that *thang* has a religious function as the main klenteng for kongsi members. This *Thang* was burned in 1823

³⁸*Li* means “morality” dan *Thang* means “hall”.

³⁹Heidhues, Mary Somers. 2008. *Op Cit.*

during the conflict between *Samtiokiou* and *Thaikong* kongsis. Meanwhile, *habok* and *sjongbok* are additional halls which are considered to only have commercial functions, with no political and legal powers like *thang*. These 2 buildings also have religious functions, with *sjongbok* housing seers connected with *Sam Bok Jak*—the 3 main gods worshiped by Monterado people—and *habok* seers are connected with Moa Njong god.

The religious concepts in Chinese architecture can also be seen from the *Lanfang* kongsi house in Mandor. The first room encountered in the building is the meeting hall, followed by *thai pak kung* altar, the 2 rooms only separated by a pond. This shows that the religious function is very important for the economic kongsi. Beside as a worshipping shrine, *taopekong* also served as the place where the miners and kongsi members swore their loyalty. *Thao pak kung* as a landmark of Chinese settlements can also be seen on the road near the base of Mount Pemangkat which lead to the market. Besides, *thai pak kung* is also used as sacrificial and ritual location for the sacred mountain.

Chinese communities in other northern coast areas, like Singkawang, also used another term for their religious shrines—*klenteng*—which is *thai pak kung*.⁴⁰ *Pak* in Hakka means

⁴⁰In Teochew and Hokkien, *Tao Pe Kong*. Barus, Frino Bariarcianur. 2005. *Demi Waktu, Potret Tionghoa Singkawang*. Jakarta: RAH & Partnert Law Film.

father's older brother, *kung* means grandfather, and *thai* means big. Thus, *thai pak kung* means exalted ancestor. This fits the Confucian concept which teaches veneration of ancestors. The Chinese actually brought their venerated wooden Earth god statue along with them in their *jung/wangkang*⁴¹ when coming to Kalimantan.

This very strong belief in *pak kung* made prayers and fireworks a routine event for these migrants.⁴² *Pak kung* was then placed in a special building in the settlement which was built right after they arrived. Thus, each Chinese settlement have one or more klentengs which would be known as *thai pak kung*. Klentengs are often found in the base of mountain as veneration of the mountain which gave them water, blocking bad “flows”, and protecting their crops. This is quite similar to the concept of “pantang”, like how Dayaks refrained from replanting a field for some time, which can also be found among Chinese people east of Bukit Pasi in a *thai pak kung*.

CHAPTER III

⁴¹ *Another term for it is jong son.*

⁴² Lim Thian Joe. 2004. *Riwayat Semarang*. Second Edition. Jakarta: Hasta Wahana. Page 10.

HISTORY OF CHINESE PEOPLE IN THE NORTHERN COAST

A. Origins of the Chinese Community

It is assumed that Chinese sailors have been sailing and trading in Nusantara for a very long time, at least since the 3rd century CE. This is based on archaeological findings of Chinese artifacts in Nusantara. Chinese pottery can be found in West Java and Lampung, particularly the Batanghari region, and the Dong Son drums can be found in Java, Bali, and the Pasemah plateau in South Sumatra. These findings indicate a time frame from the 3rd until the 7th century CE.⁴³

The Chinese sailors entered Nusantara after a lengthy voyage following the monsoon, arriving along the coasts of Eastern Asia and returning home through West Kalimantan and the Philippines. The interaction between the Chinese and West Kalimantan, especially Sambas, became more often in the 7th century CE, although they had not settled there yet. This strengthens the view that ethnic Chinese people have deep and long historical links to the Sambas region.

⁴³Dong Son drums are a kind of Hindu religious object found on the base of Mount Selindung — now it is stored in the Regional Museum, Pontianak. Irwin, Graham. 1986. *Borneo Abad Kesembilan Belas*. Translated by K.H. Abdullah Zaky Al-Kaaf. Bandung: Pustaka Setia. Page 3.

Various Islamic historical studies in Sambas implies that Islam came there with ethnic Chinese around the start of 15th century CE. In fact, the interactions that happened became the basis for life in a social group. In 1407, a Hanafi Muslim community – a Chinese community – was formed in Sambas.⁴⁴ These important proofs of social interaction happened in 1433, when Admiral Zheng He, under the orders of Cheng Tsu or Jung Lo/Yongle Emperor, the third emperor of the Ming dynasty, led 7 expeditions to Nanyang, and left some of his men that would later settle in West Kalimantan and assimilate with locals.

Along with his imperial mission, Zheng He's arrival to Nanyang is also believed for the purpose of spreading his Islam beliefs to the region. Actually, the connection between Kalimantan and China had existed for quite a long time, since around the start of 3rd century BCE, according to Irwin, and the link might had become more intense between 600 – 1500 CE. It is believed that Chinese neighborhoods in Kalimantan could trace it roots from that era, for example the area around Kinabatangan River.

⁴⁴This writing didn't mention its sources, and didn't explain how this Chinese community came and their further history. However, before them, there were already some Chinese communities that visited and settled in West Kalimantan, particularly in Karimata Islands. In 1292, the expedition sent by Kublai Khan and led by Ike Maso, Shih Pi and Khau Sing to punish Kertanegara of Singasari, made their base in Karimata. As the expedition failed, some of its members deserted and settled in West Kalimantan to avoid Kublai Khan's wrath. It is assumed that this was the start of Chinese presence in West Kalimantan. It is not explained, whether these deserters would later form part of the Hanafi Muslim community or they were a separate group. Suni, Bakran, et.al. 2007. *Op. Cit.* Pages 17-18.

The existence of the Hanafi Muslim Chinese community and the growth of Islam among the people of Paloh become important, in order to verify that Islam had become the religion of locals. Islam spread to Sambas around 1580 CE — a century later, through Malaka dan Johor.⁴⁵ Based on this, the religion of Islam—Muslims—have arrived in Sambas at the start of 15th century CE, while Islam became the religion of Sambas people starting from the middle of the century.

The Chinese immigration to Sambas in the 17th century CE passed through 2 routes, which is Indochina – Malaya – West Kalimantan (in this context, particularly Sambas). In 1745, Chinese people were invited en masse as workers, as the Sultan of Sambas needed their labor to work in the existing gold mines. These Chinese arrivals to Monterado would later go on to form the Taikong (Big Trench) and Samto Kiaw (Three Bridges) kongsis.

In 1770, these Chinese kongsis centered on Monterado and Bodok went to war with Dayak people. These wars would end up killing many Dayak chiefs, both in Monterado and Bodok. The Sultan of

⁴⁵Examining some of the toponyms in northern Sambas, it is possible that Islam had spread there earlier, since many of the names seems closer to Arabic words. For example: *Paloh*, *Galing*, *Jawai*. The Sambas word *Paloh*/*“palloh”* (sweat) might be a cognate of the Arabic word *falah* (glory, victory, luck, or farming). Meanwhile, the word *galling* might be a cognate of the Arabic word *ghalin* (valuable, important, expensive), although some connected it with the word *galingga* instead. And, the word *jawai* seems to be a cognate of the Arabic word *jawi* (Javanese). This is also true for the term ‘orang kebenaran’ which is identical with “wali Allah.” Azra, Azyumardi. 1995. *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII dan XIII*. Bandung: Mizan. Page 35.

Like the Hakkas, the Cantonese came from Kwantung and mostly worked as miners overseas. Compared to the Hakka, the Cantonese had a better life. They came with larger capital and typically were equipped with good technical and handicraft skills. They mostly spread evenly in several regions in Indonesia.

Nanyang Chinese is a term referring to the Chinese diaspora in Nusantara.⁴⁹ During Srivijaya era there were already routine voyages between China/Guangzhou and the Malay port in Kingdom of Srivijaya. This regular voyage was also utilized by Indian and Persian traders. The passive attitude of Chinese traders made it only an indirect participant of the voyages – trading only with the Indian and Persian traders. The Chinese traders themselves would only start sailing south themselves from the 8th century onward. Since then, both the tea plantations and porcelain industry in China developed rapidly, making these 2 commodities important export commodities overseas, including to Nusantara.

The people of the South Seas, particularly those in Kalimantan Island, have interacted with China for a very long time, even before the start of Common Era, possibly since the 3rd century BCE. The evidence of this interaction can be found in, for example, the history of China

⁴⁹The first mention of Nusantara by Chinese people was written by a Buddhist monk, Fa Hian, during his visits to several countries in 400 CE. During his return trip from India, he transited in Java. According to his records, there were no Chinese people in Java during that period. Meanwhile, in the 7th century, the next Chinese visitor, I Tsing reported that the Kingdom of Kalingga had been founded in Central Java. Hermansyah. *Op. Cit.* Page 45.